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Speech by Carmel Budiardjo, TAPOL
On the question of East Timor

Dear fellow delegates,
I am very grateful to have been invited to address this important gathering on behalf of TAPOL. I warmly welcome the initiative to hold this pre-Summit meeting and am glad to be here in your midst.

For me, it is a special honour and privilege to be speaking here, in a Southeast Asian country, as part of the world solidarity movement for East Timor. Two years ago I was blacklisted by the Philippines government from attending the Asia-Pacific Conference on East Timor. But let me share a secret with you: I had never intended going to Manila for that meeting so they needn't have blacklisted me. Only one of us from TAPOL was planning to go. The fury unleashed by Jakarta against APCET and the Filipino Government's supine response revealed how much the Suharto regime fears the rising tide of solidarity with East Timor in what it treats as its own backyard.

Now, the wheels of ASEAN collaboration have again been cranked into motion with the decision by the Thai Government, in response to bullying from Jakarta, to prevent East Timor's leading overseas spokesperson, Jose Ramos-Horta, co-chair of the National Council of the Maubere People (CNRM), to visit Bangkok because his visit would have coincided with the pre-Summit and Summit events. From this rostrum, I strongly protest against his exclusion and hope that this will be reflected in our final statement.

Fellow delegates,
The Indonesian Foreign Minister, Ali Alatas, has spent a lot of time recently holding forth about next week's Bangkok Summit. One thing above all else is worrying him, the prospect that human rights and in particular East Timor will be raised by some of the European Union participants. By insisting, as he has said repeatedly, that 'East Timor is a question of irrelevance' for the Summit, he has only succeeded in proving the contrary, that that tiny country which is still groaning under brutal Indonesian military

occupation is extremely relevant to Jakarta's calculations regarding ASEAN's relations with the European Union.

Alatas has good reason to worry for this is an issue that has haunted ASEAN-EU relations for the past five years. The idea to convene next week's Summit evolved because of difficulties that arose several years ago between the two blocs over a new accord on economic cooperation, the so-called 'third-generation' economic cooperation accord, which also include 'political dialogue'. Negotiations on this began in the early 1990s and when in 1992, the draft accord came up for approval at a ministerial meeting in Kuala Lumpur, Indonesia objected to the inclusion of a human rights clause. The EU had been in the process of renewing economic accords with many countries and regional blocs; in all cases, a human rights clause was included. The decision to include a human rights clause in all 'third generation' accords was taken by the EU in December 1991. In view of Indonesia's intransigence, Portugal exercised its veto - all decisions on such matters in the EU are taken by consensus - and the matter was dropped.

Naturally, quite a few of the European partners saw this as a serious setback to their business dealings with the countries of Southeast Asia. Some years later, during the German presidency, the German government initiated moves to renew discussions about the accord but it was Britain, more experienced than most in the art of the possible in diplomacy, advised against it, warning that it could only result in another deadlock. Britain suggested that the objectives of economic cooperation and political dialogue between ASEAN and the EU could best be achieved by convening a Summit between the two blocs, to be held on an informal basis, with an open agenda. The issues under discussion would be political dialogue, economic relations and international issues. What now worries Alatas is that the informality of the occasion and the 'open agenda' means that it will be up to the heads of government to decide the issues they want to raise. Despite all the wiles of some European countries, the problem of 'irrelevancies' like human rights and East Timor still dogs Jakarta.

The governments of western Europe have been told in no uncertain terms by Ali Alatas that any reference to East Timor during the two-day event could prompt a walk-out by President Suharto. Such is the importance the Indonesian Government attaches to the 'irrelevant question' of East Timor.

Nor should we run away with the idea that the fifteen members of the European Union are solidly behind Portugal on the question of East Timor. Far from it. True, none of the governments has formally recognised Indonesia's unlawful annexation of the country and, although they refrain from saying so loud and clear, they all accept the constitutional position of Portugal which is recognised by the UN as the administering power of East Timor. Yet it was not until last December, twenty years after the Indonesian invasion, and ten years after Portugal joined the European Community, that the EU summit meeting in Madrid for the first time included a paragraph on East Timor in its Final Communiqué. In January, the EU agreed to a Common Position on East Timor. However formal

adoption was delayed after some members used the hostage crisis in West Papua as an excuse to shelve the issue for the time being.

Fellow delegates,
Our primary concern here today is the present situation in East Timor and its impact on ASEAN-EU relations.

In East Timor, repression has intensified over the past year and the activities of the resistance have become even more daunting. The problems raised by Indonesia's illegal occupation of the country have also shifted and become more complex.

Repression today is directed first and foremost against the younger generation. They call it 'shock therapy'. The security forces closely monitor the actions of young East Timorese. Disappearances have become a daily occurrence and people are picked up on the streets, beaten up for no apparent reason and left to die or make their way as best they can to their homes. A year ago, the Indonesian army identified the clandestine as the main obstacle to their efforts to rule the territory. As we know, the clandestine is composed of young East Timorese who have been educated in Indonesian schools but who have never been taken in by the indoctrination pumped into them to make them 'good Indonesian citizens'. According to the army, the clandestine consists of about three thousand people, including East Timorese students studying in Java and Bali. This certainly understates the strength and size of the political resistance which probably includes most young East Timorese, whether or not they are organised and able to articulate opposition to Indonesian rule.

Canadian journalist John Stackhouse, [*The Globe and Mail*, 3 February 1996], after returning from East Timor, reports that a young man named Valerio Magno Ximenes, was beaten and left for dead while walking with friends along the beach in Dili. This was his third encounter with the dreaded special forces, *Kopassus*. Two weeks earlier security forces in Baucau beat two young men to death in Baucau. Relatives of Valerio said: 'Every day this happens. Everywhere. The military just go around and give this shock therapy to the young people.' 'Shock therapy' is familiar to the Indonesian ear. It was the term used by Suharto about the death squads that killed thousands of people in Indonesia in the mid-1980s. He justified the slaughter then as part of an anti-crime campaign. Today in East Timor, its purpose to stamp out resistance to Indonesian rule. They have not succeeded in the past, and they won't succeed now or in the future.

Members of the clandestine also confront violence and intimidation at the hands of hooligans who prowl the streets, picking on people at random. For some time, a gangster-type organisation *Pemuda Pancasila* (Pancasila Youth) has been active in East Timor. Now, a special band of thugs has been set up, *Garda Muda Penegak Integrasi* (Young Guards for Integration). It is the brainchild of Brigadier-

General Prabowo Subianto, son-in-law of President Suharto, who was recently appointed commander of *Kopassus*. Prabowo has a long history of violence and political intrigue in East Timor.

In Indonesia, they call this kind of thing *premanisme*: *preman* are free-wheeling hooligans who help the security forces by adding a 'civilian' dimension to operations designed to intimidate pro-democracy activists. These are the people who hold pro-integration actions to pour abuse on East Timorese actions at various embassies in Jakarta. Para-military thuggery working hand in hand with the army has now become an established part of the system of repression in East Timor. By recruiting East Timorese as 'Young Guards', it is as if conflict over integration with Indonesia is between Timorese and Timorese, not between the Timorese nation and the army of occupation.

Operations to destroy the clandestine movement includes provocation, splitting tactics and criminalisation. There have been numerous provocations against the deeply held religious beliefs of Timorese who, in their tribulations under the occupation, have turned in their tens of thousands to the Catholic Church for protection. Last September, a 'spiritual guidance' prison official spoke contemptuously about Catholicism during a talk in Maliana Prison. Disturbances rocked the town for days, and spread to other parts of the country. Young Timorese turned their wrath against Indonesian settlers who have flooded in, taking control of business, commerce and the local administration; the young people destroyed market-places and Indonesian-owned vehicles. The political message was clear: this was an outpouring of anger against the transformation of their country into an Indonesian colony populated by Indonesian settlers. But in Indonesia, this has been distorted and portrayed as a religious conflict between Timorese Catholics and Indonesian Muslims.

Some three hundred young Timorese were rounded up. Interrogators employed the many forms of torture to which young Timorese have become accustomed. At least 43 of those arrested are to face trial on charges of causing damage, an attempt to criminalise the resistance. Hundreds were held for short periods, tortured, then released, only to be harassed in their homes or hunted down by troops, police or thugs. In East Timor, release is hardly any better than remaining in custody.

A month later, pro-integration gangs incited members of the clandestine in Dili. In the ensuing street-battles, more people were arrested, some of whom now also face criminal charges.

Following the events of September and October, scores of young people have decided, in desperation, to flee to Jakarta and seek asylum in any embassy to which they can physically gain entrance. Seeking asylum at embassies is nothing new for East Timorese. But until last year, the asylum-seekers were East Timorese students studying in Java or Bali who had for years been part of the student resistance organisation, *RENETIL*. They organised their embassy actions to convey a clear political message while fleeing from persecution. The most sensational of these actions was the occupation of the US embassy by 29 East Timorese during the APEC Summit in November 1994.Today's asylum-seekers

are fleeing from a level of repression back home that has become intolerable. As one Timorese observer told a foreign journalist: 'These days, our youngsters have two options, to flee to the mountains and join the guerrillas or flee to Jakarta and seek asylum'.

A small number of Timorese have taken to boats, to seek refuge across the waters in Australia. A group of eighteen reached Australia after a perilous voyage last May. Two other groups of boat-people were less fortunate; they were intercepted and arrested.

So far, asylum bids have been made in the Australian, British, Japanese, Dutch, Polish, New Zealand, Russian and French embassies. Every time, governments have refused to consider sympathetically the desperate plight of these men and women, relying on Portugal to come to the rescue. Not one of Portugal's partners in the European Union has responded positively because they know that granting asylum means acknowledging that persecution is a grim reality in East Timor, placing their cosy business relations with Indonesian in jeopardy. Yet given that East Timorese are entitled to recognition as Portuguese citizens, it means that other EU countries are bound to accept them within their borders as well.

The Indonesian occupation is forcing East Timorese to become a nation in *diaspora*. Emigration has never been part of their tradition; the East Timorese, like all the peoples of the South Pacific, are deeply attached to land and the family. The longer the Indonesian occupation continues, the more this exodus will intensify, serving Indonesian designs to transform the population of their unlawfully-gotten colony.

Solidarity organisations are calling on western governments to instruct their embassies in Jakarta to treat all asylum-seekers with understanding and allow them to contact lawyers to assist them with their asylum request, and to allow Portuguese officials to meet asylum-seekers, with the help of the UN, to ascertain their true wishes. We also feel that governments which make use of Portugal as a convenient escape from embarrassment should state publicly that they do so in recognition of Portugal's status as the Administering Power of East Timor. We also feel that EU countries should share with Portugal the growing burden of receiving East Timorese who are desperate to leave their occupied country. They are, after all, victims of western failure to compel Indonesia to ends its reign of terror in East Timor

Besides their operations to quell the clandestine, ABRI recently announced, not for the first time, that it was launching all-out war against *FALINTIL,* the armed resistance. Guerrillas were offered the choice of surrendering or being wiped out. There is no reason to expect that ABRI will be any more successful than formerly in its drive against the guerrillas.

Fellow delegates,

This brings me to the key question of East Timor's relevance in the ASEAN-EU relationship. Friends often ask: why is it so difficult for the EU to adopt a clear stand in support of its member, Portugal on the question of East Timor? The legal aspects are indisputable: an act of naked aggression without a properly-supervised act of self-determination. Throughout twenty years of unlawful occupation, the people have never swerved in their opposition to Indonesian rule. Indonesian indoctrination has failed to win over the younger generation who have known nothing but life under the Indonesian jackboot.

I have followed with interest the recent debate over Asian values, western values and the universality of human rights as defined in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Some argue that western values have no roots in the South where a different set of values based on respect for communal interests rather individual rights hold sway and that western governments are hypocritical in their human rights crusade; their true purpose is to further their own economic interests. Asian values as represented by authoritarian regimes in Southeast Asia are the same values as western values advocated by multinational corporations and arms manufacturers.

We in the West have for years been exposing the hypocrisy of our governments, whether labour or conservative, social democratic or Christian democratic. But this is not because they use human rights arguments to impose their will on regimes guilty of gross and persistent human rights abuses. On the contrary. The problem is that they give only lip-service to human rights principles, whether individual or collective. In most western countries, business interests come first, second and last.

Apart from the ever loyal Portugal, there is only one shining exception to this grim balance sheet, the Republic of Ireland. Thanks to a brilliantly successful solidarity movement in Ireland, a country whose population is acutely conscious of its own tragic history and the evils of colonialism, the Irish government has become a firm champion of the cause of East Timor. Cynics will say that Ireland has hardly any business relations with Indonesia and no arms to sell. But I am quite sure that it is popular pressure and persistent media coverage that has forced the government to come out as forcefully. In Ireland, the government and the opposition are vying with each other to prove their worth as supporters of the people of East Timor.

Things could hardly be more different in Britain. The manufacture of weapons of destruction is the activity that keeps the British economy afloat. The export of equipment for the Indonesian armed forces (ABRI) is at the heart of the British-Indonesia relationship. Twenty-four Hawk ground-attack aircraft are due to be delivered to Indonesia shortly. This will go ahead despite the efforts of four brave women peace activists who penetrated the British Aerospace factory in Wharton last month and succeeded in virtually destroying one of these deadly aircraft; the women are now in remand, awaiting trial. I would like from this platform, to salute and congratulate them: Joanna Wilson, Andrea Needham, Lotta Kronlid and Angie Zelter.

The other major deal now being implemented is the delivery of between 120 and 140 Scorpion tanks and Stormer armoured personnel carriers.

Fierce controversy has raged in Britain over the use of Hawk aircraft in East Timor. Several East Timorese have testified that they saw Hawks in operation or on the ground during the 1980s but such testimony, dismissed as being 'biased', will not wash with the men at the Ministry of Defense whose job is to promote arms sales to any regime around the world, whatever their human rights record. In November, Hugh O'Shaughnessy, a British journalist, moments after he had been ordered to leave the country, saw two Hawk aircraft fly over Dili at a time of high security alert; it was 10 November, two days before the fourth anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre. But the British government has dismissed O'Shaughnessy's evidence as well. According to Jakarta, no Hawk aircraft are being used in East Timor. In Whitehall, such denials are 'unbiased', unlike eye-witness reports from East Timorese or a very well-known British journalist.

Recently, Britain was rocked by the government's decision to deport a Saudi human rights activist, Dr Muhammad Al- Mas'ari, equipped with nothing more than a fax-machine. Britain's largest arms deal, worth more than $10 billion, is with the despotic ruler of that oil sheikdom. No attempt was made by ministers to conceal the reason for the deportation: the threat from the Saudi government to switch the deal if Britain continues to harbour a troublesome individual. British Aerospace and lobbied hard for Dr. Al Mas'ari's deportation.

But its more than just a question of protecting lucrative arms deals. Britain recently overtook all other countries except Japan in total foreign capital investments in Indonesia. And although British overseas aid is due to be cut drastically, with the concentration on the poorer countries, it has just been announced that aid to Indonesia will continue to climb.

The visit of French Foreign Minister, Herve de Charette, to Jakarta this month was the occasion for yet more bullying. De Charette quite shamelessly complied with a request from Indonesia to help keep East Timor off the agenda of the Summit, in order, in Alatas's menacing words, 'to avoid the risk of failure of this historic meeting'. For France, it's all a question of helping French businessmen to catch up in the race to plunder Indonesia's resources and exploit its underpaid workforce, and the need to patch up recent quarrels over France's contemptible decision to conduct nuclear tests in the South Pacific.

We should have no illusions about the European Union. Its several institutions go their different ways, particularly on human rights issues. At the European Parliament, a democratically elected body, issues like East Timor and human rights get a thorough airing and win majority support. At least ten resolutions have been adopted by the Parliament, censoring Indonesia on a range of issues and calling

for an arms embargo against the Suharto regime. But the resolutions of Parliament have no influence on the Union's policy. In 1992, the Parliament's Human Rights Sub-Committee on Human Rights conducted a hearing on East Timor and decided to send a delegation to East Timor to monitor conditions there. But Indonesia has refused to grant access, while arranging for two visits to East Timor by members of the Indonesian-sponsored European Parliament-Indonesia Friendship Society.

On the other hand, the Council of Ministers, which is where policy decisions are taken, meets in secret and is not accountable to the European Parliament. It is farther removed from democratic control than any governing body in Europe and its discussions and decisions are not open to public scrutiny. In this respect there is nothing to choose between the conduct and procedures of the EU and ASEAN.

With Indonesia and its partners in ASEAN aided and abetted by its allies in the EU, the people of East Timor will have to rely on the deeply held moral and political commitment of governments, Portugal for certain and also, hopefully, Ireland, to use next week's Summit to show the world that strengthening business ties between the governments of the two regional blocs must not stand in the way of a ringing indictment of Indonesia over its abhorrent occupation of East Timor. East Timor must not be sacrificed on the altar of crass profit. We call on these countries not to buckle under to the threats of Jakarta. A firm stand, taken here on Asian soil, could be a landmark in setting the tone for future solidarity work in Southeast Asia and showing the member states of ASEAN that bullying tactics will get Jakarta nowhere.

For NGOs North and South, the need is clear. We should call on the governments and civil society in Southeast Asia and Europe:

1. to support East Timor's just demand for an act of self-determination in keeping with international law;
2. to demand an immediate UN presence in East Timor to protect the population from the brutal repression which has been their tragic lot for more than twenty years;
3. to demand the immediate demiliterisation of East Timor as the essential first step to improve the human rights situation there;
4. to call for support and understanding from governments around the world for young East Timorese who enter their embassies in Jakarta to seek asylum and protection from their Indonesian persecutors.

Love live the people of East Timor! Long live world solidarity with East Timor!